

frontier

Vol. 2: No. 26

OCTOBER 4, 1969

PRICE 35 PAISE

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PRINTED AT MODERN INDIA PRESS,
7, RAJA SUBODH MULLICK SQUARE,
CALCUTTA-13 AND PUBLISHED WEEKLY
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THE TROUBLED EAST

NOBODY in authority seems to be greatly concerned over what is happening in Assam. The familiar arguments about the importance of a border State in the scheme of the country's defence are not being trotted out, though the entire region is in turmoil over demands which are more varied than anywhere else in the country. Nor does anybody appear to think it unusual that three people should have been killed in firing and skirmishes at the Prime Minister's meeting at Imphal. If half of what happened in Assam during the Prime Minister's visit last week had happened in West Bengal, there would have been a deafening chorus in the country that law and order had collapsed and the Centre must intervene in the interest, above all, of India's security. Assam can ask the Prime Minister to cancel her trip in view of apprehended trouble, or Tamil Nadu can lay down the subjects on which she may speak while in the State; nobody minds; but when the Prime Minister avoids visiting West Bengal for reasons known to her alone, it is held against the State. Obviously, the assessment of some people of the law and order situation in a State varies in accordance with the type of government the State has; some governments can get away with almost anything, while the slightest lapse of some others is likely to be blown up to ridiculous proportions.

Assam knows more than any other State that the Centre respects only the language of coercion. It was after a statewide agitation, not entirely unaccompanied by violence, that the Government of India had, about a decade ago, agreed to set up an oil refinery near Gauhati. On that occasion also, an expert committee had given a low priority to Assam's claim to a refinery. The committee's first choice was Calcutta; Barauni in Bihar was second and Gauhati third. The Centre could not accept Calcutta; the reason given was its proximity to the Pakistan border; if there were weightier reasons, they were not disclosed. Barauni was selected, but the people of Assam thought that if the recommendation of the experts could be violated once it could be violated for a second time as well. They were right; the Centre allowed itself to be bullied into submission, and Gauhati had a refinery, though Barauni also had one. It is only natural that the people of Assam should try to get a second refinery in exactly the same manner. Lakhs of people are

said to have courted arrest already, the majority of them students. The "satyagrahis", who would rather give their blood than oil, have not been peaceful everywhere, and there are reports that the movement is getting out of control of the Oil Refinery Sangram Parishad. The second phase of the movement, if it becomes necessary, bids fair to be much more turbulent as is apparent from what happened in Digboi where houses and shops of "the trading community" were looted and set on fire and the inmates were beaten up. The State Government has tried to make out that the Digboi incidents were unconnected with the agitation; this is understandable, for the Government's sympathy for the agitators is well known. Movements in Assam have a tendency to turn against the "outsiders", and the riots in Digboi suggest that the "satyagraha" is being directed to this traditional channel. It is unlikely that the Centre will be able to persist in its present attitude and disoblige its own government in Assam; it will capitulate ultimately in the interest of the party. Its present mock-heroics are only endangering the marked-out victims of Assamese chauvinism.

Manipur is not the only Union Territory to demand statehood. A similar demand was placed before the Prime Minister when she visited Tripura. There was no demonstra-

tion, however. But the pattern of such movements has been so firmly set that nobody can believe that a peaceful course will always be followed; that would be almost a violation of the rules of the game. Manipur's demand is older. Geographically a part of Assam, it could not remain unaffected by the developments around it. The creation of Nagaland and the proposed sub-State for the hill people have encouraged the Manipuris to build up pressures for a full-fledged State of their own. The demonstration at the Prime Minister's meeting was organised by the leftists who have denied that there was an exchange of fire as reported earlier. They have demanded a judicial inquiry alleging that the police firing was unprovoked. If it was the intention of the Congress Ministry of Manipur to exploit feelings over the violence at the Prime Minister's meeting to consolidate its precarious position, it has failed in its objective. Within twenty-four hours nine dissident Congress members of the Assembly voted with the united opposition to bring down the Ministry. Attempts will no doubt be made to keep the Congress in office in the Territory, and some steps may be taken to mollify the demand for statehood. The Centre has not yet learnt that such tinkering cannot be a permanent solution.

Muslim populations, for the same reason, felt no compulsion for attending it or indignation for not being invited.

Mrs Gandhi and her progressive lieutenants were however undaunted. The summit was sponsored by Saudi Arabia and Morocco, stooges of America which happens to be the kingpin of the Arab-Israeli problem, and that therefore the crux of the problem would not have been even touched let alone untied was a foregone conclusion. The conference was in fact a recital of poetry, of course Islamic, as the Shah of Iran was happy to notice. The resolutions passed were no more pious than the UN resolutions on the subject and all the 25 States had had their share earlier in supporting these resolutions. The fact made the conference wholly redundant. The Al Fatah delegates fought tooth and nail to make some sense out of this historic Muslim summit by urging the participants to break off their ties with Israel. But how could they succeed when some principal members like Iran, Turkey and Niger depend substantially on exports of oil to Israel? The Al Fatah delegates however knew what they talked. The same cannot be said of the Government of India, which professed to make political issues out of a religious fire and yet wanted to restrict the agenda down to the Al Aqsa mosque and Jerusalem and exclude the vital question of Palestine.

What then were India's achievements at the Islamic summit? She made Pakistan look rather petulant by making her withdraw her consent to India's participation. Pakistan must have been badly hurt over India's participation on another score too. She had been restrained from joining the Belgrade non-aligned summit because she was not non-aligned; but she could not restrain volatile India from joining the pan-Islamic summit although India is not an Islamic country! To spite Pakistan India however had to cut her own nose because nearly everybody in this country thinks that India's image in international diplomacy has been tarnished beyond whitewash. That is of course taking the Jana

Rabat Via Ahmedabad !

The Government of India, it can be said, took a very objective view of the happenings at Hotel Hilton, Rabat. The principal question for it was the issues in the conference and not who discussed these. The issues were the August blaze at Al Aqsa and occupation of Jerusalem by Israel. These, it considered, were not religious issues and even if most of the participants in the conference thought otherwise, it was the aim of the progressive Government of India to sublimate religion into politics.

There were however a few barriers to such sublimation. The Government of India found the rather

annoying subjective element vitiating the objectivity of the issues. The representatives of the countries who gathered at the 25 nation plus Indian Muslims' conference had no other common factor among themselves except Islam. There were at Rabat both Arabs and non-Arabs, pro-imperialists and anti-imperialists, aligned and non-aligned, leftists and rightists. So the chances of converting a sacrilege into a political weapon were slender. Syria, Iraq and Tanzania were wise and ignored the first ever Islamic summit in Muslim history. China, Albania, Russia or Yugoslavia who have substantial

Sangh view of Rabat. Not for nothing has Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed suffered all the trouble in Morocco. He spent anxious hours waiting for the telegraphic invitation to Rabat, made a 17-hour air dash, refused to be cajoled or coerced into not attending the conference, withstanding in the process the illegal gratification of books and ornaments for three full days, and in spite of being kept ignorant about the timings of the plenary sessions. It was no matter that the King's men at Morocco pushed him back from the Hotel door; what mattered was the proclamation of India's love for the 650 million Muslims of the world. Such a show of solidarity has become essential in view of the 60 million Muslims of whom many will vote in the 1972 general elections. That people like Mr Nijalingappa or Mr Chagla are castigating Mrs Gandhi for extorting an invitation and being snubbed well and good in the process shows how myopic they are.

But the progressive people who are rallying round Mrs Gandhi—including the right CPI—on this Rabat happening have forgotten the fact that the Government of India reached Rabat via Ahmedabad. Ahmedabad lay dead for ten days while Rabat went strong. Gujarat burnt while Mr Ahmed at Rabat piped pan-Islamic harmony. The Government, in spite of its high-pitched paeans on communal love, could not control a small body of anti-social people who, it said, were responsible for the ghastly incidents in Gujarat. The absurdity of the situation was bound to be noticed at the summit, even if Mr Ahmed considered Ahmedabad an internal affair not to be discussed at Rabat. The absurdity comes out in bolder relief in the country itself where the Government requires a standing commission to probe Hindu-Muslim killings and yet expects the Muslims to vote for it. But, for Mrs Gandhi and her progressive followers, such absurdities do not exist—for them 1972 has become the be-all and end-all of the Central gaddi, all the rest is *maya*.

OCTOBER 4, 1969

Play It Cool

It is all very convenient. A certain code of ethics no doubt was worked out at a certain meeting in a certain year in the past that newspapers must not play up news of communal disturbances; there must be certain resolutions of the National Integration Council in the docket; perhaps a few circulars from the Ministry of Home Affairs or the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Our editors could therefore opt out of their conscience—of course, on the assumption they have any—with great aplomb. Nothing that has happened in the country since the holocausts of 1946-47 can match in bestiality the occurrences over the past fortnight in Gujarat. But this one would be incapable of gauging from a scanning of our newspapers. Not a hint of the immense contemporary tragedy: Gujarat has been subbed down to the category of the commonplace run of events round the country: Shri C. Subramaniam being forced down from the Presidency of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, the Chief Ministers accepting the targets of foodgrain procurement suggested by the Agricultural Prices Commission, India being bundled out for a paltry score by New Zealand bowlers, a charwoman winning the first prize in the latest draw of the Haryana lottery, a bunch of Delhi University teachers publishing yet another of their dreary statements on yet another trivial issue, Sharmila Tagore—or is Saira Banu—suffering from a cold, Muslims in their hundreds butchered in Gujarat...—Indian newspaper headlines are a great leveller: between the most banal and the most tragic human events, these do not make much distinction. The emblem our editors wear next to their heart is *suppessio veri*.

What a convenience this is. A ritualistic editorial comment condemning sectarian violence will do. Your conscience is salvaged. Besides, in every Indian editor perhaps resides a Hindu jingo; so, in case the news is managed, it does serve the cause so dear to the subconscious.

Therefore, while analysing Gujarat, go back to the dubious genesis of the train of events—namely, what happened on that first day in the vicinity of the Jagdish temple. Do not mention the other elements in the gruesome story, such as what a particularly notorious Hindu revivalist had been preaching up and down the Gujarat countryside during the last two years; do not mention that, to this day, the State Government has neither bothered nor dared to arrest this man; do not mention that, for the first four days, the policemen in hordes constituted part of the frenzied mob and active participants in the orgy of killing and arson; do not mention the expression 'genocide', you will be less than a patriot to do so, and will provide fodder to Pakistani propaganda; exclude that bit of the story from Rabat that one reason ostensibly mentioned for chucking out India from the Islamic Conference was the savage happenings in Gujarat and New Delhi's apparent inability to move in and deal swiftly and effectively with the ruffians at work.

After all, in Mahatma Gandhi's centenary week, some experiments with truth are in order. Moreover, Gujarat, unfortunately, is neither Kerala nor West Bengal. Gujarat is one of "us", ruled by Shri Morarji Desai's henchmen, leaning towards the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh. What are a few thousand lynchings amongst friends and dear ones? Indian history will not mention the embarrassments which eventuated in Gujarat: India is a secular State, by definition. Therefore, the things that have happened in Gujarat have not happened. Period. And if somebody else alleges that things were otherwise, we have the Preventive Detention Act to take care of that kind of optical illusion.

NOTICE

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Business Manager
Frontier

China 1949-1969

One does not have to be "pro-Chinese" to salute the Chinese people on the 20th anniversary of their final victory against internal and external enemies. The Chinese would perhaps prefer to speak of a continuing struggle, but for purposes of ordinary history the proclamation of the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic on October 1, 1949, was an event of certain finality. It was also the beginning of a new phase—not merely in the lives of the Chinese people themselves. People may differ on how the Chinese revolution, both before and after 1949, has influenced wider revolutionary currents, but its impact on the course of contemporary history is indisputable. It is not easy to assess the post-revolutionary achievements in China; the curtain of ignorance is too thick. But certain incontrovertible facts speak for themselves. Not merely atom bombs and steel output; not merely computers and other advanced instruments and equipment; not merely self-sufficiency in most essentials. These remain facts even after all reports of dislocation and confusion at various stages during the last 20 years. But more significant seems the powerful release of an entire nation's spirit.

Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly tried to demonstrate the supremacy of the human will. He may not have always succeeded—at least exactly in the fashion he foresaw. But if the hopes and the enthusiasm generated have occasionally outstripped physical practicability, more remarkable is the degree to which practical difficulties have been overcome by a kind of almost spiritual fervour. It has been almost a case of the subjective shaping the objective. Our pragmatic Marxists who are content with finding an excuse for their failures in the "objective conditions" should at least study how the Chinese attacked these conditions with their determination and dedication.

Dialectical arguments apart, the Chinese example of self-reliance is there for all to see; after all, Russian technical aid—the only external as-

sistance—stopped more than 10 years ago. Which reminds one of the tragic split that continues to divide the socialist world. On this occasion, polemics would be out of place; one can only hope that socialist and democratic forces of the world will one day attain even greater unity than in the past.

Moscow-Bonn

A correspondent writes:

After conferring the Order of Lenin on the "pacification" expert, Husak, and placating a grumbling Tito Moscow now seems to have stepped up its peace offensive towards Bonn. It has accepted the Bonn proposal to negotiate an agreement for an exchange of non-aggression declarations. Close on its heels came another feeler from Andrei Gromyko. In a speech before the UN General Assembly he assured all that Moscow "does not oppose the Federal Republic of Germany as a State having its legitimate place in Europe" and that it was ready to improve ties with her if she "recognizes the reality of the existing European situation". The speech in fact spelled out what is implied in the proposed exchange of non-aggression pact declarations. The declarations are intended to freeze the existing German borders without compelling Moscow to recognize them formally. Gromyko's call to "recognize the reality" is an unambiguous plea for the preservation of the status quo, at least in the area outside the 'limited sovereignty zone'.

It could possibly be argued that the latest peace overtures were aimed less at Bonn than at the West German electorate who went to the polls last week. The Russians would very much like to strengthen the position of the Social Democrat, Willy Brandt. However reactionary may be his political views, Brandt, after all, favours the Russian moves for improving relations with West Germany. The Russian gesture might

also have been intended to bolster up the leftist electoral coalition, 'Action for Democratic Progress', which had asked its partners to refrain from criticizing Moscow. The peace feelers might again be intended to preface the arms talks with the U.S. to be held in Helsinki. While admitting that all these factors might have played a part, it should be viewed in the background of a growing Moscow-Bonn rapport. Discussion on a non-aggression treaty initiated last year was broken off following the Czechoslovak crisis. But Czechoslovakia cannot stand in Bonn's way as much as a "revanchist" and "neo-Nazi" West Germany cannot in Moscow's way when the dictates of economics are for closer ties. How to expect Moscow to ignore West Europe's most affluent country when Russia's development calls for investment and technical know-how from abroad? Japanese capital is collaborating with the Soviets in exploiting the natural resources of Siberia. But to make Siberian natural gas available in West Europe Russia needs more. The West German consortium of Thyssen-Roehrenwerke have come forward to supply the Soviets with steel pipes for their Siberian gas pipeline. The recently concluded agreement also provides for Soviet-German joint technological research. The way now seems clear for the conclusion of an economic co-operation treaty with West Germany on the model of similar ones signed with Britain and France. If in their zeal for cooperation with Bonn the Soviets have offered natural gas at a cost lower than demanded of the East Germans, that is the price of detente.

With numerous Soviet guns placed along the Manchurian and Sinkiang borders Russia cannot but be very peaceable at the other end. When the fighting broke out on the Ussuri the Soviet Ambassador to Bonn hastened to brief the West German Foreign office about China's designs. With the conclusion of the pipeline agreement, after all, Bonn has developed a stake in the East and, as one Soviet diplomat has remarked, the free worlds' frontier in fact now runs up to the Ussuri.

A Rhodesian Tale

"Five chiefs are buried here. I too will be buried here. If they move me away, I will come back. I will come back many times. I will rebuild the village", said Chief Rekayi reassuring 3,000 fellow Tangwena tribesmen that there could be no eviction from their ancestral homeland of 50 square miles in the far-away mountainous Eastern Rhodesia. A surprise morning swoop by the police followed the announcement and Chief Rekayi and a subchief were taken to a "new home" (a misnomer). About 200 ill-fed, unarmed Tangwena people with some women stripped naked—this is the usual practice to express dissatisfaction at the high-handedness of the authority—trekked down the mountains to the Gaeresi River and then swam across to protest before the Inyanga District Commissioner's office. The protesters were mercilessly beaten up, women not spared, and thrown into jail. Those remaining behind were forced to evacuate the village. For their resettlement the only provision was 38 thatched huts, which the Chief courageously refused to accept, even though under duress. The Tangwena people had been occupying the area long before the colonial government under the Land Apportionment Act designated it as white. This recent happening gives another inkling of how shabbily the black Africans are treated by the Salisbury regime. Until the four and a half million black Africans can liberate themselves, there can be no improvement in the situation. Could anybody expect that at any time in future the Africans, who now account for about 2 per cent of the tax bill, will pay as much income-tax as the ruling community and thereby have equal representation in Parliament? Whitehall has shunned the use of force for fear of a pro-Smith backlash in the UK. The "comprehensive" sanctions have become ineffective with South Africa and Portugal helping Rhodesia to survive by enlarging the import and export trade. Sanctions-busting by American, British and Japanese businessmen is on the increase.

Who are the people fighting in Rhodesia? The strength of the Zimbabwe African People's Union will cross the 2,000 mark before the year ends. Mostly trained in Tanzania, they enjoy the support of the Organization of African Unity. A smaller body is the Zimbabwe African National Union whose activities are mainly concentrated in the south-east regions. Karoi, Sinoia and Banket in the north-east, wherefrom many white families have fled to Salisbury, are the important centres

of guerilla activities. What is spurring the guerillas to greater action is the confidence that they are superior to the enemy. The villagers say that the Government's counter-insurgency forces have been avoiding encounters with the guerillas. But while black Africans in Rhodesia are fighting a heroic battle, arrayed against powerful and well-equipped Rhodesian and South African troops, only four of the OAU States, Tanzania, Zambia, Algeria and Ivory Coast, have paid their liberation budget dues.

View from Delhi

The Secular Myth

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

BETWEEN the orgy of killings in Ahmedabad (the toll is in the region of 1,500 at the time of writing) and Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed's clowning act at Rabat, India's secular bluff has been called on the Gandhi centenary eve. Everybody is not in the enviable position that Mr S. A. Dange is because he can always echo the prefabricated explanation *Pravda* has for such occasions. It is all the conspiracy of the reactionary forces opposed to Mrs Indira Gandhi out to topple her because she nationalised banks! Others have perforce to look for a more credible explanation of why what happened in Ahmedabad happened, Gandhi centenary or no Gandhi centenary.

The Ahmedabad-Rabat syndrome has much more to it. India's claims to representation at the Islamic summit was based on arithmetic, that we are the third biggest Muslim country (though at the same time a Hindu majority country) but those who decide issues in New Delhi did not bother to realise that Indonesia, the second biggest Muslim country and a Muslim majority one, is perhaps more secular than we are! It did not think of participation in the Rabat conference.

New Delhi's shouting about the Al Aqsa sacrilege was overdone, and in such a blatantly hypocritical fashion,

all because the Muslim vote in the country has been at stake for the Congress since 1967. The rebuff at Rabat has only served to give a new handle to the Hindu communalist and exposes the Muslim minority to a rampage by majority communalism. Mr Dinesh Singh was not for India's participation at the Rabat conference but Mrs Indira Gandhi who had put up Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed as the rallying point for Muslim sentiment in the last Presidential election, sent him to Rabat to prop his vanity.

It is ironical that the incidence of communal riots in India should have shown an uptrend ever since the election of the late Dr Zakir Husain as the President in 1967. As a Home Ministry study reports, the Muslims have always been the victims. Within a month of Mr Giri's election has come the worst holocaust of the kind since independence.

Looking beyond the riots one cannot help noticing something more shocking. A government professing secularism is trying a mean strategy of counterpoise which could recoil dangerously. Hindu communalism finds its main prop in the temple-town leadership of the Congress which is trying to balance the majority communalism against an aggregate of minority communal forces. One kind of

communalism is being fought through another kind of communalism. Once again the Ahmedabad-Rabat syndrome is relevant. Why was Mrs Gandhi going about campaigning in Uttar Pradesh about the Al Aqsa outrage? It was a plain attempt at political exploitation of a situation, trying to rouse communal feelings among a generation of Muslims who had forgotten their loyalty to the Caliphate and were getting adjusted to a new situation.

The Prime Minister chose Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Mr Jagjivan Ram to join issue with Mr Nijalingappa over the free vote demand. There was some purpose to it. The immediate result was the emergence of a Muslim lobby and a Harijan lobby to support Mr Giri. Add to it the Akali communalism. Mrs

Gandhi promised Chandigarh to Punjab to secure Akali support for Mr Giri and the voting pattern tells a story. The Sikh-majority Punjab was behind Mr Giri and the Hindu-majority Haryana voted for Mr Sanjiva Reddy.

Come to think of it, there were three issues on which the campaign against Mr Sanjiva Reddy was run—one, he was a candidate of Hindu communalism because the Jana Sangh backed him and therefore Muslims irrespective of ideology and politics should vote against him; two, every Reddy is a Harijan baiter (did not Mr Thimma Reddy make that "Kick the Harijans" speech?), and three, Mr Sanjiva Reddy's personal character. A scurrilous pamphlet was circulated among the voters to discredit Mr Sanjiva Reddy, for whom, however, no tears be shed.

Minority communalism was equated with progress and majority communalism with reaction while the worst Muslim or Akali reactionary had no compunctions about voting for Mr Giri, described by the left as a progressive. It was all because the pro-official whip came from a certain Maulana and from a certain Union Minister belonging to the Muslim faith or from some one high up in the Akali Dal. In Madhya Pradesh particularly the legend was circulated that no Harijans would be safe if Mr Sanjiva Reddy were elected and there was trading in whole blocks of Harijan and Scheduled Tribe votes. But do all communal minorities and Harijan groups automatically become left and progressive because majority communalism is reactionary, as it undoubtedly is?

Somebody in New Delhi has been trying to make political capital out of the Muslim minority, helpless victim as it has always been, in the name of fighting majority communalism. Ahmedabad is not everything. It is futile to go into the genesis of the trouble there or the possible forces behind it. The entire gamut of theories have gone into circulation and often the theories are buttressed by contradictory explanations. It is the CIA, Pakistani agents provocateurs, Jana Sangh communalists, the Naxalites—and when you come to

the political explanation: the Syndicate engineered it to discredit Mrs Gandhi, or Mrs Gandhi's supporters engineered it to discredit Mr Morarji Desai and the Syndicate. But nothing explains communalism except perhaps communalism itself.

New Axiom

We owe Mrs Gandhi a new political axiom: there is no point in Central intervention in a State in a situation like the one obtaining in Gujarat because the Centre has to function through the same State machinery. One wishes she had realised it back in 1959 when she was instrumental in dismissing the communist-led Ministry in Kerala in the name of a law and order situation. The Ministry never lost its House majority and Mrs Gandhi and her party could not organise a couple of measly defections to bring the Ministry down in a constitutional manner.

Mrs Gandhi's cross-country air dash from Kohima to Ahmedabad was contrived to secure the maximum political advantage over Mr Chavan, who is no longer her trouble-shooter. The Telengana initiative has passed on to the President, Mr V. V. Giri, and Mr Jagjivan Ram was asked to handle the Chandigarh problem and Mr Chavan was left to hold a "shibir", Ramayana-style, in his home State. But all the declarations pledging support to the national leader may not restore him his old position in the Cabinet. His friends even say that he might be quietly eased out before the winter session of Parliament or soon after. Mrs Gandhi's effort was to isolate Mr Kamaraj and Mr Chavan from the Syndicate if possible. She might have succeeded in this largely but Mr Chavan is an odd man in the Cabinet now.

September 28, 1969

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Shades Of The Sardar

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

GUJARAT has more than made up for many a lost September, which they say, is the most bizarre month in the Indian calendar. September 1969 is remarkable in many ways. One will have to be smart to forget it. The wags say that Gujarat has left its imprint on the post-independence Indian map industrially. That is only a half-truth. Commonally too Gujarat has turned the corner. The rest of India would be bloody wrong not to concede it.

For Gujarat exploded many myths this blessed September. We Hindus are supposed to 'live' by myths more than any other people in the world. Where are the myths? Many of them have been smoked out by the militant Hindu prowess which gave a good account of itself. Alas, the myths!

There is a lie abroad that it is Gandhi's Gujarat. More properly and pugnaciously, it is Sardar Patel's Gujarat. It is Morarji's Gujarat. Morarji is the spirited heir—no nonsense of his being a spiritual Gandhite, which was another cruel lie—to Sardar's pragmatism, which the ignorant enemies fondly call fascism and fanaticism. So, Gujarat, in fairness and fealty to the Sardar's haloed memory, chose to 'celebrate' the Gandhi centenary in a manner which would have won his ready approval.

The enemies of Gujarat had falsely made out that one-half of the State being Vaishnava and the other half being Jain, we are a vegetarian and non-martial race. We have buried the lie for all. Out of the two thousand killed, Hindus number only a paltry hundred. The mosques demolished—those dens of bigotry and superstitious clap-trap—number over fifty, big and small.

The ignorant scoffers call us ba-

nias. But we have amply shown how seriously 'business'-minded we are. We meant business this time and stood no sentimental and hypocritical humbug. True, we Gujaratis accumulate pots, property, pelf. But we also arrange on occasion a spree or two when cycles, saris and watches are made freely and abundantly available at the fantastically low prices of Rs. 10 and Rs. 2. It was only by the way that while acquiring these goods for altruistic distribution—'robbing' and 'looting' are uncouth vulgarizations of 'acquiring'—we unwittingly killed quite a few cretins who, for no good reason, persisted in calling themselves Muslims.

We do not want Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to visit here. Which other State of India would say so with our stridency and our sanguineness? We have cried HALT to the Frontier Gandhi in a bloody scream. One Gandhi for us was too many. We have no use for another.

Percipient Madhok

Bouquets and kudos in the percipient Balraj Madhok. Bless his prophetic soul and oracular tongue. He forewarned the Hindus barely a fortnight ago, when he visited here, against the impending Pak invasion of Gujarat. So we pre-armed and outdid the Muslims in audacity, organization, and armour—both spiritual and material. Their gregarious unity in bunches was a poor match for our deluging numbers. Thus their pitiable assortment was submerged and swept away—in their own blood. For having shamed the intelligence outfit of the Government of India we offer three cheers to Balraj bhai. This sets the record straight. Be sure, we were not unprepared this time and were not caught unawares. We Hindus are highly

safety-minded. So, offence being the best form of defence, we took to it pre-emptively.

Who says Hindus are dull, dozing people divided among themselves? Sectarian and political divisions have been made much of. A slight scratch undid these and we Hindus faced the crisis as one man. Never were we more united, never more unanimous. This cohesion was a revelation to only those who refuse to see the true Hindu character.

Ideal consensus and cooperation came forth from all suddenly and spontaneously. This is a distinguishing feature of a nation whose citizens are patriotic. The Hindu nation seems to have nearly matured. The educated and the illiterate, the government and non-government agencies, the administration and the people, worked in unison. All—men, women, young and old—agreed that Muslims are subversive and sinister, and that they be done away with. It must be said, in fairness to us, that we Hindus want them to go away to Pakistan. Failing which alone, we will gore them—reluctantly, as a matter of duty, dharma.

We Hindus are grateful to the Government of Gujarat, the Press, the police, the SRP and AIR, that they showed realism in sympathising with our aspirations. This gave a big boost to our morale and ballast to our resourcefulness. Such should be the rapport obtaining between a people and the administration. Let other States learn from us. We have blazed a trail. Let Hindus all over India make it a wild fire. Loss of a few crores of rupees or uprooting and death of a few millions of undesirable people is a small price to pay for a nation on its forward march to crystallize and cohere. Amen!

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Gupta On Defensive

C. K. ARORA

THE Chief Minister, Mr C. B. Gupta, is on the look out for an opportunity to retrieve the prestige he had lost in the presidential poll. The much publicised iron man of U. P. failed to muster more than 140 votes in the 425-member Assembly for Mr Sanjiva Reddy despite the official machinery that was thrown into the fray and the valuable support extended by the Raj Narain faction of the SSP. Mr Reddy's 139 votes look all the more ridiculous when one takes into account the official strength of the Congress—219.

This solitary event has made Mr Gupta realise that he has miles to travel if it comes to a showdown with the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi. It has further exposed the vulnerability of his Ministry, although it has never been on a strong footing. Doubts have begun to be expressed even by his supporters about his capacity to continue in power.

A significant development is the change in the attitude of the UPCC chief, Mr Kamalapati Tripathi, whose support Mr Gupta had taken for granted after making him the Deputy Chief Minister, encouraged by the public ovation he had received for standing by Mrs Gandhi, Mr Tripathi appears anxious to assert himself against the might of Mr Gupta. This stance will also help Mr Tripathi to please his erstwhile lieutenant, Mr H. N. Bahuguna. Mr Bahuguna was a little unhappy at Mr Tripathi's attitude during the last PCC meeting when he did not openly support him for the office of Congress President.

Another upshot of the presidential poll is that quite a good number of BKD MLAs who had pledged their support to Mr Gupta and had also promised to sneak into the Congress at the opportune time to swell his ranks are now having second thoughts in view of the instability that has

crept into the State Congress. They no more treat Mr Gupta as the repository of all the political power in U.P. They believe that the centre of power has now shifted to Delhi. They are not very far off the reality in their reading of the political situation in the State.

The BKD MLAs have of late been making voyages to Delhi to meet the Prime Minister to assure her of their loyalty. This direct line of communication between them and the Prime Minister has been made possible in view of the exclusion of Mr Dinesh Singh who had of late ceased to be Mrs Gandhi's intermediary to contact the State politicians.

The direct rapport between the BKD MLAs and the Prime Minister is perhaps, the major factor that had weighed with her in not showing any eagerness about bringing Mr Charan Singh back into the party fold although she had issued a statement to former partymen to this effect.

But Mr Gupta has a card up his sleeves. His Ministry comprises only 16 Ministers. Its strength will be raised to about 50. His chief lieutenant, Mr Banarasi Das, is now busy working out a formula of Cabinet expansion to win back the loyalty of a majority of the members. The left-overs have been assured of berths in the official committees whose formation has been announced. But Mr Gupta's gains may not last long in view of the fast developments taking place in his party.

Mr Genda Singh, a prominent kisan leader of eastern U.P., has launched a vigorous agitation in the party for nationalisation of sugar mills. Mr Singh, who had joined the Congress with Mr Chandra Shekher after resigning from the PSP, is a force to reckon with in the UPCC. In view of the general climate for radical policies, his move is gaining momentum. He has got a memorandum signed by more than 150 Congress MLAs pleading support for a sugar-mill take-over. Mr Singh has also asked the Chief Minister to convene

a session of the State Assembly to consider his demand.

The demand is considered to be the first direct attack on the political existence of Mr Gupta. His entire politics is based on the support of sugar magnates. In his turn, he helps in evading taxes and refusing to pay the kisans the prices for the cane they supply to the mills.

The industrialists are concerned at this unexpected development. The Junior Chamber in Kanpur sent for Mr Gupta and secured a public assurance from him on September 14 that there would be no nationalisation of sugar mills. He issued a similar statement in Lucknow the next day to assure the U.P. unit of the Indian Sugar Mills Association.

His statement, however, had an angry reaction from the pro-nationalisation lobby in the party. There was a clash between Mr Gupta and Mr Genda Singh at the Congress legislature party meeting on September 19 convened on the eve of the by-election to the Rajya Sabha. Mr Gupta found that there was hardly any senior leader who was prepared to defend his stand against nationalisation, at least for the time being. He announced that he was not personally against the demand. Since this was an all-India issue, the Union Government should take the initiative. He told the members that he would tell the Prime Minister of their "strong feelings".

Though the Chief Minister has been able to wriggle out of the situation for the time being, he is sure that serious trouble is in the offing. Nationalisation of sugar mills is not his cup of tea and he has to find ways to thwart it.

Overtures are now being made to Mr Genda Singh to agree to join the Ministry and give up his stand. Mr Genda Singh was refused a ministry when the Government was formed. What will happen to the Ministry will be clear after the Cabinet expansion which has kept quite a number of Congressmen on the fence.

An Area Of Darkness

ARUN KUMAR CHAKMA

THE message-conscious 'Sachinda', as Mr Sachindra Lal Singh, the Chief Minister of Tripura, loves to be called by all and sundry, has learnt well how to philosophize at moments of crisis. The social unrest of today is "a birth pang mother India is enduring to bring forth her coveted child, socialism",—this is how he talked the other day,

The stark fact is that the ruling class in Tripura is still trying hard, behind the rhetoric of 'socialism', to preserve the archetype of feudalism. The new establishment, based on the centuries-old princely ascendancy, encourages people to nurture the legend left by the maharajahs of Tripura. Among the petty bourgeoisie with feudal background there is almost an aboriginal fear that change means decay. The cultural superstructure built by the maharajahs is preserved with the utmost care. Religious superstitions, hypersensitive loyalty to casteism, normally a pattern of life in the villages, now flourish among townsmen under the new regime. Various religious institutions are coming up and money flows liberally into them to sustain musty ideas and rank fanaticism. The new regime is as liberal as the erstwhile maharajahs were in awarding financial grants to parties intent on erecting temples and founding sanghas which would bolster its strength by widening the area of darkness.

The same old bureaucracy is there. Sachinda's scheme of bureaucratization has made public life more miserable than even Sachinda himself could imagine. A host of 'kartas' (as members of the Tripura royal family are called) together with a group of his most trusted lieutenants control the impenetrable bureaucracy. The bureaucrats behave as if they were running a zamindari. Unprintable abuses are hurled at clerks and peons

and the poor fellows have to put up with all these for security of service. Corruption has struck such deep roots in officialdom that you cannot elicit any simple information without illegal gratification. While the 'liberals' are satisfied with a pan or a cigarette, the demands of the 'strict' ones are often beyond the reach of the common man. One can well imagine what the cost will be of more important business. The other side of the picture is more lurid. The underworld of Agartala, the capital, is not peopled by, to use official jargon, unemployed young men, outlaws or professional criminals. The denizens of this underworld belong to the highest echelon of society. One-time princely harems have been replaced by scores of harems in the cosy drawing rooms of the modern princes.

The drama going on in Tripura is indeed extraordinary. The phalanx of the establishment is too solid to be broken. Sachinda often boasts of this at unguarded moments. Besides the big police and military force maintained for 'guarding the frontier', there is also a big army of young *mastans* ever ready to terrorise the masses into obedience. Who are these *mastans*? Are they the 'problem children' born out of the massive unemployment crisis in Tripura? No, they are mostly the children and near relatives of the establishment's pet sleuths. Sometimes they are the conscience-walkers of their locality standing guard against infiltration by any unlike-minded elements, sometimes guardians of law given a free hand in taking to task people whom they do not like. These hirelings can be seen at all public places including Government offices and private institutions to protect the established order from public 'outrage'. Last year when one prominent gang leader was beaten to death, the incident cast a gloom in high political

circles while the irate townsmen were jubilant. Rickshaw pullers, shanty-keepers, hawkers and unprotected girls all heaved a sigh of relief while the venerable gentry of the town joined the funeral procession with tearful eyes and placed wreaths on the body of the gangster.

Encouraging Conflicts

Sachinda came to power on the crest of feudal patronage. The new regime was further consolidated by those inhabitants who had migrated to Tripura from East Pakistan in the early 'sixties exchanging landed properties with their Muslim counterparts in Tripura. These kulaks were employed to tame the refugees from East Pakistan, most of them landless labourers and fishermen, then seething with sporadic and inarticulate discontent. Cashing in on their hapless condition, the ruling party first exacerbated their feelings against the Muslim inhabitants; they were led to believe that all their problems could have been solved but for the Muslims. The refugees started grabbing whatever little the Muslims had and, aided by the police, drove them out of Tripura. But that did not end their problems and they became an exploited class like the Muslims driven out of Tripura. Finding them still restless, the rich peasants and jotedars, notorious for their exploitation of the poor peasants through usurious and other fraudulent practices, pitted them against the tribal peasants. Exploiting the weak position of the latter, the refugees forced them to part with their ploughs and bullocks and were employed by jotedars on their lands. The tribal people, weary of the relentless struggle against feudal exploitation, could not stand up to the renewed onslaught and retreated almost to extinction. The tribal sardars who had acquired vast properties during the rule of the maharajahs by means of bringandage now became big jotedars and joined hands with the East Pakistani rich peasants and jotedars to perpetuate the rule of the neo-feudal lords. And the authorities did not have to take much pains to promote a sharp political division between the East Pakistani refugees and

the tribals and thus thrive on their internecine conflict.

All that the rural people of Tripura have known all these years is hunger. The authorities know how their henchmen are carrying on their man-hunt in the interior of the state. The farther you go into the interior the more dismal the picture. Hardly a day passes without a few starvation deaths, which official sources would record, should they find it at all necessary, as deaths from disease. What I saw with my own eyes during my short stay in a remote village was almost incredible. As the rural folk, young and old, gathered around, mistaking me for a relief party man, their faces showed what strict diet of misery they were living on. They uttered certain words in chorus, but I heard as though some people were groaning, unable to talk. When I told them that I was not a relief worker they walked away expressionless. An old man later told me that all the landless labourers would have to leave their homesteads very soon as almost all herbs and mukhis (an inferior kind of potato) had almost been consumed. But he still hoped that American food gifts would arrive, as was being announced by official circles from time to time. The gifts did arrive, to prove that Tripura was in the grip of food scarcity. While people in Tripura were enduring the agony of starvation, the Home Minister said in Delhi that it was not so much due to shortage of food as lower purchasing capacity that the people were starving!

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Neo-Nazism

P. BHATTACHARYA

ALTHOUGH Hitler died during the last world war his ideas have lived on. In fact, his heirs, in America and Europe, have with great care nurtured and developed them beyond recognition.

The central theme of Hitler's ideas was the growth of Germany at the expense of the world, to be effected through use of advanced technology. Four apparently separate entities were involved in his scheme—idea of *lebensraum* (living space), genocide, V-2 rockets, and atom bombs (still embryonic). *Lebensraum* could be assured through genocide by the use of nuclear-tipped missiles. The spurt of space activity highlighted by the Moon landing should not mislead anyone about the real purpose behind such ventures. The aim is to land nuclear-tipped missiles with pinpoint accuracy.

Now, the scare of contraction of *lebensraum* is real. Even when the growth rate of an object is fixed its trebling time is half that of doubling time. Therefore, when the population has reached a critical figure, its growth rate increases proportionately, thus decreasing its doubling time. In the USA, which has already surpassed the 200 million mark, further incentives to increase the birth rate now in vogue there would only shorten the doubling time. *Lebensraum* in the USA would thus be compromised sooner than later. Identical conditions operate in the USSR and Europe.

The living space on earth is limited. Therefore unfettered growth of one section of the population can only take place at the expense of another, that is by genocide of the latter. The concept of genocide is nothing new. The ruling circles of Spain at the end of the sixteenth century began to wonder what to do with the Moors. Mass castration and mass extermination were suggested. But Christian principles stood in the

way and the Moors lived. Hitler, four centuries later, found a suitable gas to exterminate the Jews and the USA now has stocked a lethal nerve gas. Again poisons, bacteria and viruses for terrible offensive weapons are being developed in West Germany for the Bonn Bundeswehr. Documentary evidence of this was given by the micro-biologist, Dr Ehrenfried Petras, in December, 1968. He left the West German Institute for Aerobiology and flew to the GDR because his conscience no longer permitted him to work in the arsenal of death. Then, the search is again on in the U.S. for chemicals which will cause human blindness. That a nation should search for such agents and at the same time remain a powerful member of the United Nations is indeed strange. That humanism is in conflict with the administrative policy of the Government is apparent from the examples of Senators Kennedy and Johnson. The latter is reported to have said: "I am against sending American GIs into the mud and muck of Indo-China on a blood-letting spree to perpetuate colonialism and white man's exploitation of Asia." Think of his later record as President, Kennedy as Senator was even more voluble: "To pour money, material, men into the jungles of Indo-China without at least a remote prospect of victory" (emphasis added) would be dangerously futile and destructive. No amount of American assistance can conquer an enemy. In 1962, however, under his presidency American intervention in Vietnam assumed a direct military character.

If we assume that American Presidents are honourable men, the volte face should be explainable. Possibly only as Presidents they share with the Pentagon the terrible secret that must perpetuate a war without any prospect of victory, store gases to kill men by the millions, stockpile atomic

weapons, search for materials to blind fellow human beings, produce herbicides to destroy food and prepare for bacteriological and chemical warfare, and ensure that no nation other than the U.S. and Russia possesses atom bombs.

Why these preparations and who they would be used against?

Stephen Leacock in "The Great War as recorded by Mr William Shakespeare" has Lord French to speak thus:

'Well said, O Noble France let them fall on. Mark me—

Not us, And when they do let us take cognizance

Of how it fares with them.'

Goebbels cunningly expressed it: "Britain will fight to the last New Zealander". Dulles said, "Let Asians fight Asians." Now, the Asians and Africans have always been an anathema to a section of the white people (hereinafter called the whites). Even Jefferson could not deal with the Negro problem in his own country. He would rather have it eliminated by getting rid of the Negroes altogether when the opportunity offered itself—in the shape of colonization of Africa and Central America.

Until machinery had replaced men racism consisted in exploitation of ethnic differences. The brain of the whites exploited the brawn of the coloured. Now there is no need to pamper man for his physical power. The same process that has led to the disappearance of horses from Calcutta would eliminate men who live by their muscles alone.

But the whites may not leave the process of extinction to chance. Like prisoners of war made to dig their own graves before being shot, an unwanted population may be exploited economically until extermination. Let us examine the *modus operandi*:

1. Use of atom bombs: That the U.S. army dropped two bombs and not one, on Japan, is a sufficient indication that the act was of an experimental nature. The delayed hazards of radiation and the time taken to rehabilitate people had to be assessed. That Hiroshima and Nagasaki are again buzzing with activity

would set at rest any doubt about the permanence of scorched earth. Given a time-lag the places bombed can be inhabited again. (Bikini, for example). But the most remarkable thing about the dropping of two atom bombs on populated towns by the U.S. is that it was in sharp contrast with their method of bombing Germany.

2. Use of pills: The population explosion can be taken care of by atomic explosions at the opportune moment but in the meantime U.S. philanthropy is keen that the Asian population is kept at a controlled level. The earnestness with which the U.S. is pursuing the family planning programme in Asia matches with its endeavour to increase the birth rate in its own country. Incentives are given to increase the birth rate in Europe and Russia. This clearly shows that Asians are not wanted by the whites.

Man is now in a position to deal with unwanted population. Professor Hinsaw says: "Survival as species today regardless of what species depends upon two factors: upon nature and the whim of man. The influence of man or rather the intervention of his intellect is, biologically speaking, a recent innovation. On the one hand this influence has led to the extinction of species" e.g. malaria parasites, "on the other some species have met with man's favour and have prospered", e.g. fowl.

3. Fanning of inter-tribal wars: The Romans, wrote G.B.S., were enamoured of Christianity because the Christians "fought so well". The fighting qualities of the Africans are similarly made use of by the whites who fan inter-tribal wars. One is reminded of the cock fights where the spur is reinforced by a knife and the cocks fight to the finish. The sturdiest cocks are chosen. Just as Jesus bore his own cross the Africans are forced to bear the cost of bullets for their extinction. And the whites wait in the wings for the spoils. The Africa candle burns at both ends—the north end is lit by the Israelis and the south by the white minority of South Africa and Rhodesia, and

soon the twain shall meet and Africans disappear from the face of earth.

The whites will spread destruction sooner or later and already there are straws in the wind to herald the impending disaster. The phased withdrawal of all white soldiers from the Asian continent may even be a piece of strategy to clear the deck before hurling atom bombs or herbicides over the rice bowl. It may not be pure disenchantment.

Confucius has said that "knowledge without thought is useless and thought without knowledge is dangerous." If what has been written is of "the dangerous variety" then one can be happy but suppose one is even remotely correct, what is to be done?

There is little that can be done against organised banditry except collective strength—the strength to strike back. Thus China which is building up strength may have a salutary effect on these designs. India should also do likewise. Her refusal in signing the nuclear treaty in the present form is commendable. No one should play the second fiddle in the concert of human destruction, thus accelerating the pace of moving in the queue of death. Siding with the powerful will boomerang. There is no substitute for strength. As Kipling said:

Oh, East is East and West is West,

And never the twain shall meet,

Till Earth and Sky stand presently,

At God's great Judgement Seat

But there is neither East nor West

Border, nor Breed nor Birth

When two strong men meet face to face

Though they come from the ends of the earth.

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Economic Surplus : A Marxian Critique—I

KEITH THOMPSON

THE purpose of the following paper is to critically examine the concept "economic surplus" from the point of view of Marxian economic theory. The concept originally appeared in 1962 in *The Political Economy of Growth* by Paul Baran and again in 1966 as the central theme of *Monopoly Capital* under the co-authorship of Baran and Paul Sweezy¹. The reviews that these two books received were both numerous and comprehensive, and it is not the wish here to provide a resume of the important points which were made. However, it should be observed that in none was the concept of the economic surplus sufficiently well examined. (One review in particular, the review of *Monopoly Capital* by David Horowitz, is partially responsible for the following essay². In the context of a critical statement on the shortcomings of Ernest Mandel's reviews, Horowitz posed a central question with which, he says, "even" Mandel has failed to come to grips: "whether a Marxian analysis based on this concept is by nature impossible, or whether Baran and Sweezy have merely fallen short of such an analysis in their particular development of it?" It is this question which will form the nucleus around which this essay will revolve. The other reason for choosing this topic was mainly to provide some opposition to Horowitz's unequivocal acceptance of the concept: "I (Horowitz) believe that not only is a Marxian analysis based on the concept of the economic surplus possible, but that such an analysis is the necessary point of departure for a truly adequate Marxist theory of contemporary capitalism." For no matter how much Horowitz may "believe" this, his case would have been immeasurably strengthened, and possibly even changed, if he had examined the concept more carefully).

First it is important to clearly understand the concept under question. In *The Political Economy of Growth*,

Paul Baran distinguished three variants of the concept "economic surplus" (and in the opening chapters of *Monopoly Capital*, he refers the reader to this discussion for further clarification of the concept), two of which are important to this discussion. The first variant, *actual surplus*, he defined as "the difference between a society's actual current output and its actual current consumption." It is important to note at this point that this variant is *not* identical with Marx's notion of surplus-value. The essential difference, for computational purposes, is that *actual surplus* does not include that part of the aggregate output that is consumed by the capitalist class, government spending on administration, the maintenance of a military establishment, etc. In this sense, as Baran observed, the "actual surplus as defined above is merely that part of surplus-value that is (presently) being *accumulated*." Surplus-value, on the other hand, consists of the entire difference between aggregate net output and the real income of labour.

The second variant of the economic surplus Baran called *potential surplus*. It comprises "the difference between what could be produced in a given natural environment with the help of the employable productive resources, and what might be regarded as essential productive resources, and what might be regarded as essential consumption." The realization of the potential surplus, Baran argues, "presupposes a more or less drastic reorganization of the production and distribution of social output, and implies far-reaching changes in the structure of society". Again, the concept is not identical with Marx's notion of surplus-value; in the computation of potential surplus, as with the actual surplus, the consumption of the capitalist class, expenditures of government administration, the military, and the like are excluded. On the other hand, potential surplus

comprises some elements that are not encompassed by the concept of surplus value, namely, the loss in output owing to the under-employment and unemployment of productive resources as envisaged from the point of view of an image of a rationally ordered society.

The central question for our purposes seems to be two-fold. Firstly, whether these alterations of Marx's economic categories put the ensuing analysis outside the parameters of a Marxian explanation of capitalism; and secondly, whether the application of the category "economic surplus" can in any way augment our critical understanding of capitalism and its development. Whatever the answers to these questions may be, the merits and demerits of these changes cannot simply be overlooked on the grounds of "dutiful praise" to Marxism nor condemned as a violent break with orthodoxy. Rather, their worth must be balanced pragmatically, on the intent of such changes and on the implications of such operations for advancing the Marxian critique of capitalism.

Total Reformulation

The object of *The Political Economy of Growth* was to trace the generation and absorption of economic surplus (so defined) from the point of view of making more clear the necessary conditions for economic development. In so far as this is the case, and particularly since Baran's work is an unquestionable masterpiece in the area of economic development, he cannot, on simply pragmatic grounds, be censured for making these adjustments to Marx's theory of surplus-value. However, this is not the case with *Monopoly Capital*. In this work Baran and Paul Sweezy explicitly intend to set a theoretical precedent.³ By treating monopoly as a qualitatively new element in the capitalist economy they set out to produce a total reformulation of Marxian economic categories. This drastically different aim and emphasis of *Monopoly Capital* calls for a more serious consideration of the concept "economic surplus" than was required for the earlier text by Baran.

In *Monopoly Capital* Baran and Sweezy contend that the tendency toward a falling rate of profit is linked to the model of "perfect competition" envisaged by Marx and that this assumption is no longer valid under conditions of world monopoly. In its place they have chosen to substitute "the law of rising surplus", which presumably is the theoretical expression for the structural change from competitive to monopoly capitalism. But, however valid the "law of rising surplus" may in fact be, their case would have been strengthened immeasurably if they had attempted to illustrate how "traditional" laws fail to operate. For example, they make not even the slightest attempt to examine the two more basic ratios from which the law of the falling rate of profit is a result: the organic composition of capital and the rate of surplus-value. Sweezy himself, in an earlier text, has pointed to this important consideration:

"As for the factors determining the rate of profit, it is easy to demonstrate that they are identical with those factors determining the rate of surplus-value and the organic composition of capital. . . . Thus, in spite of the fact that the rate of profit is the crucial variable from the point of view of the capitalist, for purposes of theoretical analysis it must be looked upon as dependent upon the two more primary variables, the rate of surplus-value and the organic composition of capital. This is the procedure that Marx adopted and which will be followed in our subsequent investigations.⁴²"

As for the organic composition of capital, no overall assessment is presented in *Monopoly Capital*, and, by replacing surplus-value with the more ambiguous term "economic surplus," the authors from the very beginning divorce themselves from more orthodox Marxian theory.

As pointed out by most of the critics of *Monopoly Capital*, the concept of "surplus" is not at all clear. Since the concept is crucial it is unfortunate that the authors are not exactly sure as to what constitutes the surplus. This criticism must obvi-

ously be directed at the authors' sloppy presentation but it should be kept in mind that the reason may, partially at least, lie with the concept itself. Throughout the course of the text, the economic surplus receives at least four different definitions. The first definition that confronts the reader is "the difference between what a society produces and the costs of producing it." (page 9) Later we are told that it may be provisionally equated with "aggregate profits." (page 72) This is followed by a definition describing it as the "difference between a total social output and the socially necessary costs of producing it." (page 112 and 76) Finally, the surplus is identified as the "difference between aggregate net output and the aggregate net real wages of productive workers." (page 125) At no point do the authors sufficiently explain the new definitions, nor do they attempt to reconcile them. This is particularly troublesome because it is certain that whichever of the definitions is finally used, it will have manifold implications for not only "orthodox" Marxian economics but also the applicability of the concept of "economic surplus" itself.

Which of the two variants distinguished by Baran, if either, is meant by Baran and Sweezy in *Monopoly Capital* when they speak of economic surplus? Of the four definitions presented in their book which have been noted above, the first two clearly approach the concept of *actual surplus*. The last two, however, seem ambiguous in their reference to "socially necessary costs" and "productive workers" since these terms appear without previous discussion of their meaning. In the *Political Economy of Growth*, Baran uses the term "unproductive labor" to refer to labour which is present under capitalism but "which would be absent in a rationally ordered society" (page 32). In this sense potential surplus involves a value-judgment that lies outside the theoretical relationships stated in "orthodox" Marxian theory. Thus, it would seem, substantively at least, that the last two definitions appearing in *Monopoly Capital* approach more

closely to the concept of "potential surplus."

Actual and Potential

The utility of the concept of actual surplus lies with its applicability for analyzing the present operations of the capitalist economy; potential surplus on the other hand is a means for understanding the irrationality of the system and of casting moral indignation against it. The two would have to be clearly distinguished if the claim is to be made, as Baran and Sweezy do, that the strength of monopoly is to be judged solely on its ability to dispose of surplus, because in this sense, potential is less of a direct threat than is actual surplus. One of the main confusions in the book comes not from using the concept and its variants, but that in their arguments the authors use both variants of surplus interchangeably. For when they include advertising and distribution expenditures, the costs of automobile changes and all government spending as waste and surplus, they do so from the point of view of a reorganized society and thus are employing the concept of *potential surplus*. On the other hand, when Baran and Sweezy talk about the growing surplus and the failure of consumption and investment outlets to provide for its absorption, they are referring to the problem of the utilization of *actual surplus*. As to exactly what is meant in each instance, one can only make an educated guess, for the authors themselves have been none too salient on the point.

R. S. Franklin has mapped out more clearly the distinction that the authors probably intended in *Monopoly Capital* and *The Political Economy of Growth*: *theoretical surplus*—the potential output less the socially necessary costs; *actual surplus*—the actual output minus the socially necessary costs; and *underutilized surplus*—the potential output minus the actual output⁵. By working out the problem in this manner, the definition of the economic surplus and its variants becomes much more explicit. Furthermore, it can be extended to provide a logically tight set of categories:

Theoretical surplus (potential—social costs)
 = actual surplus
 = (actual output — social costs)
 + under-utilized
 + under-utilized surplus
 + (potential — actual output)

However, the question of the scientific worth of the concept "economic surplus" in explaining capitalism at its monopoly stage and in tracing out the course of its development, although certainly more clearly formulated than as presented by Baran and Sweezy, still remains. Since this is obviously the crucial question, we must turn to it immediately.

For Marxists, political economy, or social economy, studies the social laws governing the production and distribution of the material means of satisfying human needs and traces the antagonisms eminent in a given mode of production in order to discover its "internal laws of motion." The method of Marxian political economy, says Lukacs, "is in its innermost essence historical."⁶ It integrates the existing social relations under which production is carried out, the bourgeois relations of production, into the aggregate of historical forces and as a result, contrary to bourgeois social science, does not view them as imperishable but rather as peculiar to a concrete epoch in the development of human society. For Marxian political economy, the social relations of production characterizing bourgeois society, the bourgeois mode of production, are summed up by reference to the labour theory of value. This theory provides the key to the essence of capitalism and constitutes the analytical backbone to understanding the course of its development. This theory highlights the fact that at the core of capitalism is the exploitation of wage-labour by capital.

In order to explain the dynamic problem of capitalism—the problem of capital accumulation—Marx perfected the labour theory of value by working

out his "theory of surplus-value."⁷ Specifically, this theory explained how the exchange between the worker and the capitalist of what was formally "equal values," labour-power and wages, led to the continual enrichment of the capitalist. As a result, by its very nature the labour theory of value perfected with the theory of surplus-value implied a process of economic growth. The ratio that resulted, the ratio of surplus-value to wages, accurately expressed a dynamic statement about the rate of exploitation of labour by capital.

(To be Concluded).

⁶Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth*, Monthly Review Press, 1962.

⁷David Horowitz, "The Case for a Neo-Marxist Theory", *International Socialist Review*, July-August, 1967.

⁸It is clear that the book is conceiv-

ed as a theoretical break-through. The message is announced on several pages, is extolled on the inside of the book jacket, and, finally, is graphically presented on the book jacket itself: "we put the Monopoly in Capital." This observation was made in the review by Michael Lebowitz, *Studies on The Left*, Volume 6, No. 5, 1966.

⁹Paul Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, Monthly Review Press, 1942, pg. 68.

¹⁰R. S. Franklin, *Canadian Dimension*, March/April, 1967, pg 35 ff.

¹¹Mentioned in Sweezy's introduction to *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, pg 20, Monthly Review Press: taken from Georg Lukacs' *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein*, 1923, pg 7.

¹²Cf. Karl Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*, International Publishers Company; In this short pamphlet, Marx clearly develops the concept of surplus-value.

Calcutta Diary

GYAN KAPUR

WE have all been told times without number that the engineering industry is the sick child of West Bengal. For the matter of that tea and jute industries are supposed to be no better. Curiously, all three are major industries of the State on which the well-being of the people of the State depends. If the industrialists and their paid mercenaries who keep the books were to be believed, these industries are passing through their death throes. All that was needed to kill them off, according to them, was to make them pay the poor workers a little more.

The concessions made by the engineering companies following those by other industries therefore should make our political and trade union leaders think afresh. Barring some lucky units, the engineering industry as such is not having a very good time. How come, then, that they have agreed to substantial concessions, including upto 15 days' pay in addition to the amount that might be payable under the Bonus Act? Apart

from anything else, this in itself is a notable achievement for the workers of the industry. At least in one industry the Bonus Act has been modified for all practical purposes.

The truth of course is that when the going is good the industrialists literally make capital out of it. Profits are piled up and converted into capital by issue of bonus shares. In one small engineering concern the original capital was increased by nine times out of the profits. Such high rates of profit cannot last forever and when normal times return there is a great hue and cry. Unable to get the high profits on the inflated capital, they want to pass the buck on to the workers. The law being what it is, the workers' demands may appear quite unreasonable on the face of it. But the moneybags know their arithmetic well. If they have made good money in the past and it is still in the business, they will shell out a part if forced. They will not risk breaking the machine that makes money-making machines.

The UF Government in general and the Labour Minister in particular may rightly claim the credit for the settlement in the engineering industry. It is also correct that the employers' willingness to pay more is not due to any 'change of heart' but due to the changed political situation in the State. But perhaps it was really not necessary to have a dig at gheraos. The Labour Minister seems to have been also a little too optimistic in pinning his faith in bipartite and tripartite negotiations in settling disputes. Without the latent threat of action by workers, backed up by the Government, the employers would have done nothing. To think otherwise is to believe in a change of heart on their part. From the ease with which the negotiations ended in a settlement, one can surmise that what is happening is not a change of heart but of tactics.

* *
For the time being big business in West Bengal has apparently decided to forget about toppling the UF Ministry and to use it to their own advantage. All indications point to this. The so-called 'conspiracy', if there be any, is more an internal affair than any attack from outsiders. It was really touching to learn that Birla's Hindustan Motors had approached Mr Jyoti Basu for permission to increase the price of their cars and had been referred to New Delhi by the West Bengal Home Minister. If they had any doubts, the UF Ministers are making it quite clear to the industrialists that they have nothing to fear. While inaugurating the annual general meeting of the Oriental Chambers of Commerce, Mr Jyoti Basu went out of his way to emphasize that there is no socialism or communism in the 32-point programme of the United Front. Help was again assured to industry in the matter of licences, raw materials and getting orders.

The current row over the proposal to limit new industrial development beyond 100 miles of Calcutta is one such case. If implemented, the greatest losers would, perhaps, have been the industrialists. There are well-

known advantages in the localization of industries and these go mostly to those who own the mills and businesses. The proposal of course was silly if not mischievous and deserved to be opposed tooth and nail. In the event, however, it was not even considered by the Standing Committee of the National Development Council. Whether it would come up again at a later date is not clear from reports.

All this shadow fighting about establishment of new industries, however, sidetracks the main issue of unemployment. Mere opening of a few new plants is not going to solve the problem. In the highly mechanized form that new industrial plants with foreign know-how are put up the employment potential is extremely low. So long as the existing pattern of social relations and distribution of wealth remains, nothing is going to be solved by a few more plants. After all, West Bengal has for decades been the most highly industrialised State in India. But it has the maximum squalor, poverty, hunger and unemployment. Under present conditions, the answer would appear to be labour intensive industries. But then the industrialists are not much enamoured of these. As a price for their sweet reasonableness in meeting the minimum demands of workers, they expect the UF Government to fight their battles. It is to be hoped the Government will see through the game.

* *
Calcutta's new Mayor immediately after taking over asked journalists for a new approach to the Corporation's problems. Quite understandably he wanted constructive criticism. The mess to which the Corporation had reduced itself over two decades of Congress administration made this a very difficult task indeed. But long before this invitation, from my limited knowledge of civic problems, I had been giving my suggestions for what they were worth.

I had written several months back that the chronic garbage disposal problem of Calcutta would never be solved without incinerators. It is a matter of personal satisfaction to me that in his latest Press conference Mr

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Sur has said that the only permanent solution for Calcutta's garbage problem was to have incinerators. This encourages me to repeat some of my suggestions and make a few more.

Public incinerators alone will never solve the problem, as the difficulty in taking the garbage to the incinerators will remain. Public incinerators in different outlying areas of the city must, of course, be set up. But at the same time houseowners must be forced to have their own incinerators. This can be enforced starting from the top downwards.

And why this begging mission to overseas countries, even if they are socialist ones? Why this lack of faith in our own men? I am fully convinced that if the Mayor should ask for it, some young engineer or the other will come forward with the design of incinerators for public and private use which can be fabricated in and around Calcutta's industrial belt at a very low cost. This would also provide employment to some men at least. And boost our confidence no end. It is time we learnt a basic moral and economic lesson. Borrowing just to meet the family expenses is a degrading thing; but to take a loan to expand one's business is quite another.

Then there is this question of khatalas which again came up at the last Corporation meeting. No doubt there are a few thousand khatalas out of which only 14 are said to be licensed. So far as the Corporation's licenses are concerned, they are only a means to collect fees. No standards are enforced nor is the Corporation in a position to do so.

On the question of khatalas there is much confused thinking. It is never asked why and how in a city like Calcutta so many khatalas can exist. The plain fact is that they fulfil a basic need of the city's people. Large numbers of people still depend on these khatalas for their supply of milk. If milk supply from Haringhata could be made available to all and sundry, the khatalas would wither away in due course.

As it is we must learn to live with this problem as with so many others

in the city. Any hasty action against khatalas will at the best only transfer the problem to the people living beyond municipal areas. Already there has been a large influx from Calcutta to the outlying areas in Greater Calcutta creating problems for people living there.

The menace of khatalas has to be met as the menace of spurious drugs was sought to be met. It was never suggested by anyone that manufac-

ture of drugs should be stopped simply because some people were doing mischief. Let the khatalas remain but under stricter and stricter Corporation supervision. Ultimately some will just disappear from the scene, while others will be forced to fall in line and modernize the business. In the process it would be quite surprising if the present pattern of ownership of khatalas did not change and also provide a few more jobs.

The Press

Gandhi's Gujarat

READER

WHILE the Islamic countries were preparing for the congregation at Rabat, hundreds of their Muslim brothers were being murdered in Ahmedabad and Baroda. The genocide in Gujarat was certainly the worst since 1946-47. Indian secularism has never provided a congenial atmosphere for the minority community and the Union Home Minister's own admission that at least 300 people were killed in Ahmedabad alone strengthen the feeling that something is rotten in this secular State. That even after this Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed should have proceeded to Rabat reveals the shamelessness of some people. And after what happened at Gujarat one can't be seriously indignant at the rebuff there.

One only wonders what would have happened if this had taken place either in West Bengal or in Kerala. In Gujarat for two days the Hitenra Desai Ministry virtually sat and watched the Muslims being butchered. So did Delhi. After the massacre the Prime Minister tells the State Chief Ministers that communal riots should not be allowed to occur and communalism should be severely dealt with. How severely the Gujarat case will be dealt with is, however, not known. Maybe on Gandhi centenary year the Centre would not like to treat M. Desai and his colleagues harshly.

They in their turn would certainly seek to be forgiven through pious pledges on October 2.

Press comments on the incidents have been strong. The *Hindustan Times* says that Gujarat must hang its head in shame. While the nation is getting ready to observe the centenary of Gandhi, the State of his birth and the city in which he undertook some of his major work have surrendered to the forces of communal reaction to dispel which Gandhi had worked all his life. The perpetrators of this enormous crime are not just those who started the mischief but all those who took part in the riots, encouraged them, spread rumours or passively stood by while the killing and the looting went on. Prolonged violence of this nature cannot erupt out of nothing and the country must know what foul hand lay behind the bestiality witnessed in Ahmedabad. The promised inquiry committee should be set up and it should go into work immediately. The argument that this should not be done unless tempers cool down makes little sense as a speedy inquiry would help bring the wrongdoers to book immediately. The growing cancer of communalism must be checked, not by pious resolutions but through resolute action and severe punishment of the guilty. This must now be the commitment of all com-

munities, parties and organisations.

The *Times of India* feels that if the Ahmedabad happenings have any lesson it is that the time to get rid of the communal virus is not when it actually erupts into violence but when it is still under control. Emotional integration of the people is a process which has to be begun by giving a rational basis to the day to day business of living together. It cannot be achieved by appeals and exhortations when communal prejudices have been excited to a pitch, when people are deaf to the call of reason and ordinary human compassion. In Ahmedabad there is some evidence that the first hint of trouble came as early as May when it could have been scotched by a few conciliatory measures at the political level. It is only because vigilance was relaxed at that stage that events moved towards their tragic climax.

The paper feels that it is utterly pointless to inquire how the trouble began or who started it, for the scale and violence of the reaction have no relation to the initial provocation whatever it might have been. Now that the situation is gradually returning to normal the same questions would once again be asked, as to why the police were caught off guard and why the law and order machinery proved so totally incapable of dealing with the situation. Above all, what were the various political and social organisations doing?

The *Statesman* says trouble in Ahmedabad seems to have started with a deplorable incident in which some members of the minority community appear to have desecrated a temple. It is indeed tragic that some sections of the minority community whose main concern should be the amelioration of its depressed lot,

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OCTOBER 4, 1969

should allow themselves to be exploited by merchants of hate and religious bigotry, Indian or foreign. The most alarming aspect of the violence in Ahmedabad is the ease with which it spread not only within the city but to neighbouring areas in the State. A dangerous symptom which suggests that the trouble may not have been as spontaneous and the trouble-makers not as disorganized as might be made out by some. A thorough probe into the genesis and ramifications of the present riots in Gujarat seems called for. The inquiry will, however, serve no useful purpose if it takes too long or if the report is allowed to gather dust at some shelf in the Union Home Ministry as happened frequently in the past. Unless those responsible for perpetrating communal violence, irrespective of the community to which they belong, are awarded punishment commensurate with their heinous crimes, it will not be easy to root out the communal canker.

The *Hindusthan Standard* says that to recall, as is being incessantly done by leaders, that Mahatma Gandhi was born in a particular State or that this is his birth centenary year, is to imply that the riots in Gujarat would have been less inappropriate at another place, at another time. This is rank self-deception. It would be more honest to admit that Gandhi was an isolated phenomenon and the people of India can claim no credit for his greatness. If Gandhi had left any effective impress on the minds of the people there would not have been such outbreaks of mass violence at Indore a few months back and at Gujarat now.

The measures adopted are steadily though very slowly yielding results. The calling out of troops and diversion of trains are realistic measures which should be followed up by sterner ones. The killers and arsonists should be tracked down and punished and the agents provocateurs of whatever religious or political hue should be brought to book. But for heaven's sake let there be an end to the fasts, padayatras and appeals in the name of Gandhi because they are not meant for those at whom they are aimed.

Double Exposure

MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY

HANRI Phatibey (written by Utpal Dutta), Theatre Workshop's mystery drama begins with a host of characters, each with a black past, assembling in a deserted mansion on an invitation from a stranger (clearly reminiscent of Christie's *Ten Little Niggers*). But soon after the prologue the play seems to radiate a bit of social content which the producer keeps on hammering till the end. The basic material is a muddle of realistic and expressionistic styles with a few bright lines of saucy dialogue, and the characterless, sub-standard production of the group has brought these inherent weaknesses into sharp focus. The chief protagonist, the unidentified stranger, behaving like a petulant child playing the role of a grand executioner, gives us the impression of a sane man acting as a lunatic, and not a mad man with the behaviour peculiar to him, which could have justified the Caligari like denouement. The characterisation is much too conventional, everybody being painted in black or white without the intermediary shades. The weird setting and lighting and an array of dumb waiters mysteriously popping in and out of every corner of the stage attempt to impart an eerie colour to the whole thing, but that is not sustained enough to create a larger than life impression. The actors have the largest share in the total failure of the production. Only Manik Ray Chowdhury as the lecherous fish magnate and Tapasi Guha as the sex-pot film-star could lend a conviction to their roles. Others just bored the audience with broad comedy or harangued them with cheap homilies on equity and justice. What is most dangerous, all along there is a disturbing tendency to overplay the emotions (not the creative type of stylised distortion) with a clear eye on the gallery. This attitude has vitiated Theatre Workshop's productions from the very outset of its career

and it is because of this that the intricate psychology of a Sartre play becomes in their hands a third-rate propaganda piece on communal harmony, while *Juno and Paycock* degenerates into a crude Sachin Sen-gupta melodrama. Unless they can come out of this rut, it will be difficult for the troupe to build up an honest theatre despite their sincerest efforts.

In producing *Jaduvansa* (based on the novel by Bimal Kar) Theatre Guild seems to have bitten off more than they could chew. The stage adaptation has led to the telescoping of many things into a single pattern, leaving a good deal of structural flaws in the process. But what is more important, there is no strong probe into the internal sufferings and the contradictions of existence of the four wayward youths so powerfully sketched in the novel. In the play, the characters are but pale counterparts of the binging and swinging set of the Hollywood screen. The drift from a normal life to the abyss of morbid frustration is left unexplained. Producers may well remember that just a sprinkling of vulgar abuses or a couple of risqué dialogues is not modern enough; it needs a much more searching inquiry into the social problems to portray a modern theme. Here just the surface has been scratched but nothing tangible has come out. While almost all the players excel in the patches of boisterous comedy, at moments of deep realisation they are all miserable flops. Only Namita Sinha as Ava, the meek, middle-class type girl experiencing the hesitant, uncertain feelings of her first love, could infuse dignity and poise into the role. B. Kalyan's compartmentalised set-structure and the complex texture of chiarascuro lighting are brilliant ideawise, but the execution suffers from the limitations of the stage.

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Letters

Gandhi

The unanimous resolution passed in the West Bengal Assembly extolling "the uncommon role of Mahatma Gandhi in transforming into the channel of a democratic mass movement, the resentment of the Indian people against the British Rule", was strange. Gandhiji was a nationalist, but he was anti-communist, anti-revolutionary and hence anti-people. His aim was to snatch the leadership of the nationalist movement from people of even the slightest revolutionary leanings. Hence the dispute with Netaji. But the pity is that Indian left leaders chose the Mahatma in preference to Netaji. So if Gandhiji was the guiding star of Indian capitalists, he was more than that to the Indian left. Their frequent jargon criticising the Congress smacks of opportunism and selfish political careerism. While doing so they always exploit the sentiments and ignorance of the masses.

I cannot resist the temptation of comparing Gandhiji, the father of the Indian Nation and Uncle Ho of Vietnam. Gandhiji was a nationalist but anti-communist, and so after the implementation of Gandhism even after twenty years of independence we beg for grains of the USA and the entire nation is mortgaged to the USA. The standard of living of millions be better not discussed. Ho was a nationalist, but a communist and Marxist-Leninist. His nation is today humbling the U.S. The nation he led is a symbol of sacrifice and struggle for national emancipation.

Ho's Vietnam is a proud country. The country led by Gandhi's ablest disciples is a beggar's country.

NATABAR LAHIRI
Calcutta

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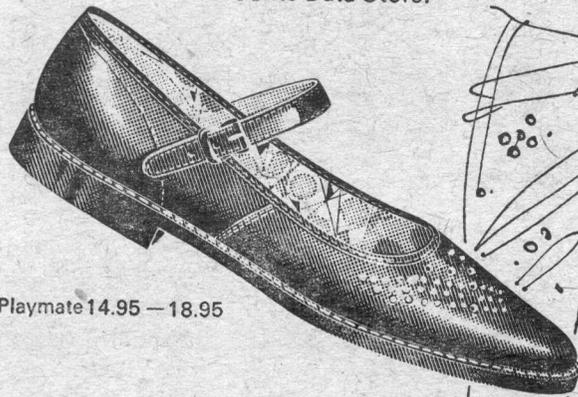
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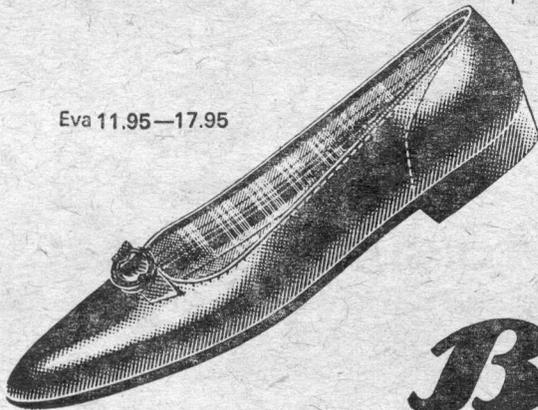
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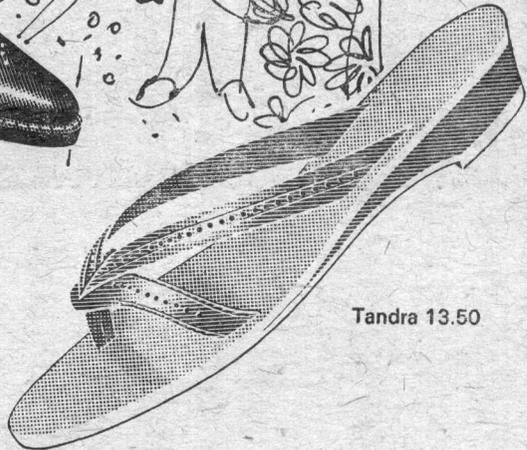
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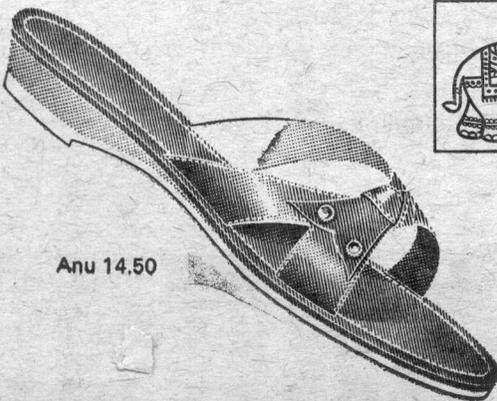


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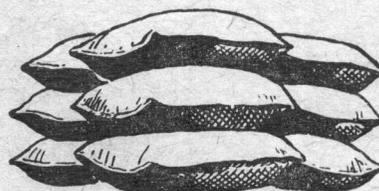


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